

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L MADRID 4994

EXDIS

FOR AMB MCCLOSKEY FROM THE AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, MARR, NATO, SP, US

SUBJ: US-SPANISH NEGOTIATIONS, MY CONVERSATION WITH
FOREIGN MINISTER CORTINA ON NATO/NON-NATO
APPROACH

REF: (A) STATE 166196; (B) MADRID 4939; (C) STATE
167366

1. I CALLED ON FOREIGN MINISTER CORTINA LATE YESTERDAY MORNING AND, ON REFERRING TO YOUR CONVERSATION WITH HIM OF JULY 3 AND MY CONVERSATION OF JULY 5, GAVE HIM THE ENGLISH TEXT OF YOUR PAPERS, AS AMENDED, ALONG WITH AN INFORMAL SPANISH TRANSLATION. (MINISTER OF THE PRESIDENCY CARRO MARTINEZ HAD DINED WITH ME JULY 16 AND I TOOK THE OCCASION TO DESCRIBE TO HIM OUR CONCERN OVER CORTINA'S APPROACH AND OF THE PAPER I WOULD GIVE CORTINA. I, THEREFORE, SENT CARRO MARTINEZ OUR SPANISH TRANSLATION OF THE PAPER YESTERDAY AFTERNOON WITH THE SUGGESTION THAT HE MIGHT WISH TO BRING IT TO THE ATTENTION OF THE PRIME MINISTER. I HAVE, OF COURSE, ALSO GIVEN A COPY OF OUR PAPER TO ROVIRA.)

2. CORTINA READ THE DOCUMENT THROUGH IN SPANISH AND HE THEN PROCEEDED TO DRAW HIS FAMOUS DIAGRAM AGAIN. I REGRET TO REPORT THAT THE ONLY PROGRESS THAT I ACHIEVED IN
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THIS CONNECTION WAS THAT INSTEAD OF TWO CIRCLES CONNECTED

BY BLACK LINES, THERE ARE NOW TWO RECTANGLES CONNECTED BY BLUE AND RED LINES. CORTINA REHEARSED ONCE AGAIN HIS VIEWS ON THE NEED FOR RECOGNITION OF SPANISH CONTRIBUTIONS BY NATO AND FOR THE NEED FOR US TO PROVIDE THE LINK BETWEEN US-NATO DEFENSE RELATIONS AND US-SPANISH RELATIONS. IF THIS WERE NOT POSSIBLE, THEN THE ONLY OTHER WAY TO ACHIEVE EQUALITY OF TREATMENT AS PROVIDED BY THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES WAS FOR THE US-SPANISH RELATIONSHIP TO BE PLACED ON A NEW BASIS, INCLUDING GUARANTEES. UNDER THOSE CIRCUMSTANCES THEN, SPAIN WOULD ENJOY THE SAME TYPE OF DEFENSE RELATIONSHIP WITH US AS WE HAVE WITH NATO. IN THE ABSENCE OF THAT MORE SPECIFIC BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP AND IN THE ABSENCE OF FAILURE TO OBTAIN WESTERN EUROPEAN RECOGNITION OF SPAIN'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO WESTERN DEFENSE, THEN SPAIN COULD NO LONGER TOLERATE THE INDIRECT SUPPORT WHICH OUR FACILITIES CONTRIBUTE TO NATO DEFENSE.

3. I TOLD CORTINA THAT WE FULLY UNDERSTOOD HIS ARGUMENTS IN THIS RESPECT AS THEY HAD NOT CHANGED IN ANY WAY FROM THE FIRST TIME HE HAD RAISED THEM. (ALTHOUGH I DID POINT OUT THAT HE WAS NOT DRAWING RECTANGLES INSTEAD OF CIRCLES) BUT THE PROBLEM WAS THAT HIS APPROACH TO THE QUESTION WAS NOT REALISTIC. WE DID NOT AGREE WITH THE ATTITUDE OF SOME OF THE NATO COUNTRIES, BUT WE COULD NOT UNILATERALLY CHANGE THEM. THE DEFENSE OF THE WEST HAD TO BE A WHOLE AND ONE WHICH INVOLVED SPAIN. THE REDUCTION OF OUR FACILITIES BECAUSE OF THE ATTITUDE OF CERTAIN NATO COUNTRIES COULD HAVE NO RESULT OTHER THAN TO DAMAGE OUR CAPABILITIES IN THE DEFENSE OF WESTERN EUROPE, INCLUDING THAT OF SPAIN. THE RESULT THEN OF SPANISH POLICY WOULD BE AN ENTIRELY NEGATIVE ONE IN THAT IT WOULD NOT ONLY COMPROMISE SPANISH AND WESTERN DEFENSE, BUT WOULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE IN TERMS OF SPAIN'S ULTIMATE DESIRE OF A CLOSER ASSOCIATION WITH EUROPE AND WITH THE NATO ALLIES.

4. CORTINA COUNTERED THAT HE WAS CONVINCED THAT IF WE WOULD GO TO THE NATO ALLIES, PARTICULARLY THE UK, AND FLATLY STATE THAT WE WOULD LOSE THESE MAJOR FACILITIES, FOR WHICH NO ALTERNATIVE COULD BE FOUND, IF THEY PURSUED THEIR NEGATIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD SPAIN, THEN THE NATO

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ALLIES WOULD SEE THE LIGHT AND CHANGE THEIR POINT OF VIEW. I TOLD CORTINA THAT THIS WAS NOT THE CASE AND THIS SORT OF ARGUMENT WOULD FALL ON DEAF EARS. THE NATO COUNTRIES WOULD MAINTAIN THEIR PRESENT POLITICAL ATTITUDE TOWARD SPAIN, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME TELLING US THAT WE WOULD HAVE TO FIND OTHER ARRANGEMENTS TO CARRY OUT THE COMMITMENTS THAT WE HAVE. I SAID THAT THE TYPE OF DIALOGUE WE WERE NOW ENGAGED IN ON THIS POINT WOULD

LEAD US NOWHERE AND THAT IF HE INTENDED TO PURSUE THIS DIALOGUE, THERE WAS LITTLE OR NO HOPE OF REACHING AN AGREEMENT BY SEPTEMBER. I SAID THAT HIS CONTINUED INSISTENCE ON WHAT WAS AN UNREALISTIC AND, INDEED, UNATTAINABLE OBJECTIVE LED ME TO STRESS THAT POINT IN THE DOCUMENT I HAD GIVEN HIM WHICH READS, "WE WONDER IF OUR UNDERSTANDING OF SPANISH OBJECTIVES IS SUFFICIENTLY COMPLETE TO ENABLE US JOINTLY TO FIND ENOUGH COMMON GROUND ON WHICH TO BASE AN AGREEMENT."

5. CORTINA SAID SPAIN DID, OF COURSE, WANT A DEFENSE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE US AND HE THOUGHT THAT THE TWO MONTHS STILL REMAINING BEFORE THE SEPTEMBER EXPIRY DATE WOULD ALLOW US SUFFICIENT TIME. HOWEVER, THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT COULD NOT PRESENT AN AGREEMENT TO SPANISH PUBLIC OPINION WHICH DID NOT DEMONSTRATE EQUALITY OF TREATMENT AND A DIFFERENT APPROACH FROM THAT OF 1970. THUS, IT COULD NOT BE TAKEN FOR GRANTED THAT AN AGREEMENT WAS INEVITABLE. CORTINA SAID THAT HE WOULD DISCUSS THE PAPER I HAD LEFT WITH HIM WITH FRANCO AND WITH ARIAS, AND THAT BEFORE ROVIRA LEAVES FOR WASHINGTON ON JULY 19, HE WOULD GIVE HIM THE NECESSARY INSTRUCTIONS IN LIGHT OF THE PAPER AND THE COMMENTS I HAD MADE. (I EXPECT TO SEE CORTINA LATER THIS AFTERNOON AT THE SPANISH NATIONAL DAY RECEPTION AND HE MAY HAVE SOME WORD FOR ME AT THAT TIME.)

6. IN CONCLUSION, CORTINA SPOKE VERY WARMLY OF HIS RELATIONS WITH THE SECRETARY AND HINTED RATHER CLEARLY THAT A CONVERSATION WITH THE SECRETARY IN THE NEAR FUTURE MIGHT BE NECESSARY TO MOVE THIS PROCESS FORWARD. I AMIGINE THAT CORTINA HAS IN MIND THE POSSIBILITY OF SEEING THE SECRETARY AT HELSINKI.

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7. COMMENT: I STILL BELIEVE THAT CORTINA'S HANG UP" ON THIS NATO MATTER IS NOT SHARED BY OTHER MEMBERS OF THE GOVT, INCLUDING THE MILITARY. I CONTINUE TO SEE INDICATIONS THAT THERE IS QUITE A BIT OF DISSATISFACTION WITH THE WAY CORTINA IS LANDLING NOT ONLY THIS PROBLEM, BUT ALSO OTHERS. I AM CONVINCED THAT IF WE CONTINUE TO STONE-WALL ON THIS NATO POINT AND CONTINUE TO PRESS OUR QUESTION AS TO WHETHER THERE IS ENOUGH COMMON GROUND ON WHICH TO BASE AN AGREEMENT, OTHER FORCES WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT WILL BE BROUGHT TO BEAR, PARTICULARLY THE MILITARY. HOWEVER, IN THIS REGARD, THE QUID ELEMENT BECOMES EVEN MORE IMPORTANT.
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